181 herself. With faith in her identity, she has
178 consistently remained determined to maintain the freedom to run her own affairs. She has, in effect, held the reins for designing and controlling her own future.

Yet, today's world presents threats which differ greatly from the threats which have prevailed throughout history — threats which Tonga has successfully withstood. A country's integrity is her stronghold, and it is Tonga's integrity which is being challenged by the diverse forces of a world where material progress, technological know-how, wealth and power hold prominence over human values.

The mushrooming in Tonga of phenomena such

[p. 53-C]

[457]
[435]
[369]
[464]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 546]

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

Crafts are displayed for sale to tourists on any day that a cruise ship docks at Nuku'alofa.

Fakameili . . . ko ha fo'i lea fo'ou ia fekau'aki mo hono fakatau atu 'o e ngaahi ngaue fakamea'a ki he kau folau 'eve'eva.

[p. 54A]

181 as tourism, foreign economic interest, prices of
178 consumer goods, pressures to work and study
457 abroad, and the rural-urban drift which is creating
435 grave unemployment and population problems on
369 Tongatapu, intensifies the dilemma of *how to*
464 *improve the quality of life while preventing cultural and social deterioration.*

433 Although Tonga's economy is based primarily on
241 agriculture (main exports: copra, bananas, desiccated coconuts), Tonga is slowly moving away from being a society of substantially subsistence
433 farming. Tourism, which is rapidly becoming a
457 major consumer industry, is being encouraged by the government as a source of employment and

[p. 54-B]

433 foreign exchange earnings; however, only with the
457 proper controls can tourism enhance cross-cultural interchange and understanding and prevent cultural sterilization, while being financially profitable.

439 As Tonga develops and as her population continues to grow, more and more foreign goods are being imported (e.g. canned food, motor vehicles, 433 tobacco, manufactured articles). So, in order to avoid becoming increasingly dependent 47 economically on other countries, Tonga is currently 179 seeking to develop and pursue interests and small industries (e.g. forestry, shipping, juice extraction, fisheries, vanilla production) which will help increase her cash income, will provide more job

[p.54-C]

42: Walsh K-4,5 (no date) 1970 0U9 Tonga 0U9

tensions and compulsions towards growth at subsequent points.'[29] It is not easy to reconcile such a proposition with the Tongan situation. Firstly, Nuku'alofa is not, at least as yet, a 'growing point' in the economic sense, for it lacks the industrialisation which is the 'dynamic force' of development.[30] With barely seven percent of those employed engaged in some kind of part-manufacturing or processing, it generates little of its own wealth. Secondly, with so many of its people dependent on agriculture and with a low per capita income, Nuku'alofa does not stimulate agricultural growth in the outer islands. Lastly, it has virtually no private sector capable of providing investment and government funds are directed mainly towards transport, and services, most of these in Tongatapu.

The resources of Tonga are limited. Agricultural exports accounted for 97 percent of all exports in 1967; coconut products representing 49 percent and bananas 45 percent. As the greater part of the income of government, which is the main investor and employer, is derived from these sources, the level of agricultural production is of vital concern for overall development.[31] The promotion of tourism may increase income levels in Nuku'alofa to the extent where this will ultimately 'trickle down' to the outer islands, and sizeable aid from Britain may ensure an adequate infrastructure for development, but development itself seems firmly based in agriculture, for, with such limited resources, industrial development and growth must originate in the countryside.[32] If this proposition is correct, concentration of resources in Nuku'alofa is unlikely to generate economic growth, at least for a long time, and with population increasing at its present rate this may be too long a time to wait if social harmony and the present social order is to be maintained.

In the meantime, copra production has declined by 50 percent (1957-67), and while banana production has increased by over 280 percent, most of this increase has come from Tongatapu which produced 83 percent of exports in 1967.[33] The low level of copra production can be traced largely to neglect in one form or another, and this is likely to affect trees now being planted with British government aid money. I would suggest that neglect stems mainly from these causes:

1. Agriculture generally is held in low esteem, and this influences the amount of money devoted to agricultural development.

[29] Hirschman (1958): 190, 184.

[30] See Myrdal (1957): 29.

[31] The quasi-government Copra and Produce Boards are in this sense included with 'government'.

[32] For criticism of development fund allocation see Walsh (1967a).

[33] Banana exports 1967 (percent): Ha'apai 9.7, Vava'u 0.8, 'Eua 6.3; Copra exports 1967 (percent): Tongatapu 48.5, Ha'apai 20.2, Vava'u 23.9 (the highest for seven years), other 7.3.

49: Rogers A-4,5 (no date) 1969 OU9 Tonga OU9

hard-board, cabinet-making, ship's gear and housing), as well as developments in private industries such as cigarette and tobacco processing, handicrafts, tailoring, boat-building, bread-making, and in government service industries, communications, electricity and water supplies and mechanical engineering. Until 1956, Tonga maintained a favourable overseas trade balance without incurring a national debt. Since 1965, moneys have been borrowed from Britain for development plans. But these developments are not sufficient to employ the increasing numbers of young men migrating to Nuku'alofa seeking work. For example, in 1956, 2.41% of the Tongan male population over fifteen years was engaged in "part-manufacturing and processing"; by 1966 this percentage had rised to 2.78% of the adult Tongan males, an increase of some 192 persons, but Tongan females employed in this category decreased over the same period by some 77 persons, that is, in the decade following 1956 the total number of Tongans employed in "part-manufacturing and processing" industries rose by only 115 to 597 persons. The "services" branch of the economy absorbed an increase of 568 Tongans, "transport and communications" 65, whereas Tongans employed in "commerce" dropped from 786 to 353, a loss of 214 workers. The number of non-agricultural labourers rose during this period from 192 to 786—a gain of 594 workers. Comparable figures for non-Tongan residents in Tonga in 1956 and 1966, show decreases in the number of persons employed in "part-manufacturing and processing" industries (a decrease of 83 persons), "services" (down 63 persons), "transport and communications" (down 24 persons) and "commerce" (down 103 persons). These figures conform with the Tonga Government policy of gradually replacing non-Tongan workers with Tongans.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Rapid increases in the Tongan component of the population are occurring: about 38% in ten years; this is producing a very youthful population in which over half of the population is under sixteen years of age. Population expansion is due not to a rising birth rate (which is fairly constant at 3.24%) but to a rapidly decreasing death rate (in 1966 the death rate reached an all time low of 0.29%).

Pressures on land are beginning to be felt but are not yet acute because it is comparatively easy for any Tongan to obtain access to land for subsistence purposes. Pressure on the *'api* system as it now stands is very great with possibly well over half of the men eligible for land without land or at least without security of tenure. Possibilities for intensification of land use have scarcely been sought; diversification of crops and scientific methods are, with the exception of the Coconut Replanting Scheme, as yet confined to research stations; large tracts of land belonging to the nobility remain officially unallotted; several high islands are unsettled; larger allotments could be subdivided with the introduction of intensive methods. Pressure on housing is not yet acute except in Nuku'alofa, but the Tongan administration seems to have adopted a European norm of one "family unit" to one household in spite of the traditional custom of

49: Rogers A-4,5 (no date) 1969 0U9 Tonga 0U9

building small dwellings near the main dwelling for siblings of the opposite sex, parents, and married members of the same family.

The need to step up the rate of industrialisation is shown by the beginning of land shortages, the increase of adult "landless" men, the indirect evidence of under-employment throughout the Kingdom, and the movement of increasing numbers of rural dwellers to urban centres, especially to Nuku'alofa.

The most spectacular development in Tonga since 1956 has been the acquisition of a national shipping fleet. Before that date, two motorized sailing ketches were the principal means of inter-island transport; all fuel was imported from Fiji in 44-gallon drums. The progressive, far-sighted administration ordered the first vessel, *Aoniu* (514 tons), in 1956; it was delivered in 1958 and by 1960 it had made a gross earning of £T68,120 with net profits of £T13,970 after providing for depreciation and other running expenses. The Tongan fleet now comprises seven vessels, with the largest, *Niuvakai* (1,800 tons), plying between Sydney Australia, Japan, Fiji, and Tonga. Although great savings are now made each year on freights to and from the Kingdom, the shipping line has, however, done little to relieve the need for more jobs in Tonga. Raw materials could be transported to the Kingdom by these ships to provide employment in selected (possibly labour intensive) industries. If European and Australasian governments do not take the initiative by offering experts for this purpose it is likely that trade and aid may be forthcoming from Asia, especially from Japan.

Tonga has also shown how a state-owned industry can provide a large degree of independence for a small nation. The Tonga Copra Board and allied government agencies started with improving the quality of export copra, and now, with the aid of British finance, have launched a highly successful Coconut Replanting Scheme throughout the land. Government industries have already been discussed. Philatelic and numismatic sales are still being fully exploited by the Minister of Finance.

Nevertheless, economic growth, although spectacular for a country using mainly its own limited resources, is not fast enough to cater for the demand for wage labour. While the population continues to increase at the present rate, the need for the expansion of wage labour, either on the land or in industries, will persist.

Finally, economic expansion and industrialization is not by itself a panacea for the pressures and problems besetting this tiny island Kingdom; techniques will need to be changed, social privileges equalised, and human resources marshalled and developed, especially in the fields of education and vocational training. Education for white collar jobs carries greater prestige, but efficient production of export crops may be more lucrative for the individual.

At present, compulsory primary schooling ends at standard IV, a class reached by many children at the age of ten. Intermediate and secondary schooling is not compulsory, so if primary school pupils do not gain a place in one of the few secondary schools they repeat the last year in the primary school once or even twice. Because of this an enormous percentage

434 Wage labor and gifts of money from kinsmen working overseas also contri-
[459] bute substantially to money income.

434 An examination of income data from twenty Puke households indicates
463 that the economic strategy followed by Tongan peasants is security
464 through diversity (Tables 12 and 13). Occupational specialization is usually impractical as most income sources available are affected by
[258] critically-fluctuating market conditions. As an example, the buying of mature coconuts for processing into desiccated coconut sometimes ceases completely so that a grower relying upon this market suffers periods of no income. Over time reliances on various income sources also vary considerably so that a man may do wage labor for a short time until he is fired or the job terminates, and then may fish or make copra if those activities are profitable.

592 In most households women and children, particularly girls, contri-
434 bute substantially to household income by producing basketry, bark cloth,
439 shell jewelry, and other handicrafts. These items are sold directly to tourists in Nuku'alofa or less frequently to exporters. Women also oc-
592 casionally assist their husbands in gardening and fishing.
462

Cash Expenditure: The Spheres of Obligation

434 Tongans generally view cash income as a necessity for meeting three
511 types of obligations: obligation to support one's church (kavenga faka-siasi), obligation to educate one's children (kavenga faka'ako), and obligation to support the members of one's household (kavenga faka'api). Ideally, only after these obligations have been met can an individual

A. [See pp. 76-77--Analysis]
[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 78]

87: Wood M,Y-4,5 (no date) 1932 OU9 Tonga OU9

House, the Ministers, nobles, and representatives, sits at a separate table. Parliament receives the reports from the Departments, and deals with the ordinances passed by the Privy Council and with the Estimates that have been prepared by the Privy Council and revised by the Consul. Petitions may be presented through members, who may also propose motions themselves. 646

THE CONSUL (whose full title is His Britannic Majesty's Agent and Consul) has considerable influence and important powers, derived from the Treaty of Friendship and Protection 1901 and the Supplementary Agreement 1905. By these he can veto expenditure, and he must approve the appointment of all Europeans in the Tonga Government. He advises on all external affairs, and also on internal matters if asked to do so by the Government. The Consul is, therefore, an officer of the British Government who carries out the terms of the Treaty guaranteeing both the peace and financial stability of Tonga. 648 645

THE PREMIER is the head of the Tonga Government and administers these departments:—Foreign affairs, education, the medical department, public works, agriculture, the printing office, the Government vessels, telegraphs and telephones. He also controls the district officers, whose duties include the preparation of the census, the reading of gazettes and laws to the people, and especially the supervision of agriculture. Among those assisting the Premier are the Chief Medical Officer, the Director of Education, the Director of Agriculture, and the Superintendent of Works. 645 647 [634] 647

The Medical Department provides free medical and dental attention for all Tongans, dispensers being stationed throughout the group and European Medical Officers at the three centres. It also inspects latrines, cement tanks, etc., in the interests of public health. The Medical Officers inspect all vessels entering ports from overseas, and a quarantine station is provided in case infectious diseases are found on such vessels. 744 647

THE MINISTER OF LANDS controls the Lands and Survey Departments. Every male Tongan-born subject on reaching the age of sixteen is entitled to a tax-allotment of 8½ acres; applications from such, and also from Europeans and others wishing to lease land, have to be made to the Minister of Lands. Land cannot be sold to anyone. 423 645

THE MINISTER OF POLICE is responsible for the Police, Gaols and Traffic Departments. 645 [625]

THE CHIEF JUSTICE, in addition to his judicial functions, registers births, deaths and marriages. [693]

THE TREASURER is responsible for the collection of taxes and the expenditure of public money, and is Controller of Customs and the Post Office. He also has charge of the Savings Bank.

There is no national debt, but the Government has placed investments totalling (in 1931) £141,686 in fixed deposits at Auckland and Sydney, and in British and Colonial Government Stock. 652 457

The chief tax is the poll-tax of 36/- per annum on all Tongan males sixteen years and upwards. The Customs (Import) Duty is 12½% ad valorem on most articles (25% on some goods such as jewellery and fire-arms; books, free). 651 [439]

245 1971 prices paid to Tongan farmers for first grade copra
435 were T$70 per ton compared to $T115 in January 1971 (Tonga
245 Copra Board Records). Similar difficulties are also
435 experienced by farmers selling whole coconuts to the Copra
655 Board. From March to May 1971, the Copra Board paid growers three cents per whole coconut. From June to December, the price was only 1.2 cents per nut (Tonga Copra Board Records).
245 The factors responsible for these prices are not understood
655 by the average Tongan grower and often attributed to poor
[435] management by the Copra Board. Internal problems within the
[829] Board and financial losses of a construction company established by the Board have helped destroy much of the confidence that growers had in the Board.

245 As a result of these economic factors in combination with problems with pests and disease, there was in 1971 little interest in improvement and expansion of coconut cultivation. The palms are generally neglected, with weeds and brush around the bases; traditional burning practices harm the bases of the trees; crops are planted too close to the trees; and a large proportion of the trees are declining in yield owing to senility (Liyanage, 1971: personal
245 communication). In order to revitalize the coconut
654 industry, a Coconut Replanting Scheme was established in 1966 and a Coconut Subsidy Scheme was begun in 1967.

[457] The Coconut Replanting Scheme (C.R.S.), which was made possible through a grant from the British Ministry of

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[457] Overseas Development, set up nurseries throughout the Kingdom to provide high quality coconut seedlings for interested farmers. The following services and subsidies are also provided by the C.R.S. as incentives to coconut replanting: 1) machinery is provided for clearing and ploughing land in preparation for replanting; 2) $T2.00 to $T4.50 per acre is paid to growers who clear their own land under the direction of the C.R.S.; 3) fertilizer is provided; and 4) $T2.00 per acre is paid to growers who maintain their new plantings to the standards set by the C.R.S. A measure of the success of the work of the C.R.S. is that during the year 1970, a total of 3,876 acres (1568 hectares) were replanted in the Kingdom, 1,919 acres (777 hectares) of which was in Tongatapu (Coconut Replanting Scheme 1971:1).

[651] The Coconut Subsidy Scheme encourages use of fertilizer to improve yields of pre-existing coconut palms. The scheme is financed by Copra Board funds obtained through levies on copra production and provides fertilizer free of cost for two years in rehabilitated areas, for four years in replanted areas, and at one-half cost under the general subsidy scheme (Tonga Copra Board, 1969b:14-15).

Although these programs have had some effect in revitalizing the industry, the general attitude of most Tongan farmers seems to be that the palms are indestructable and will continue to produce sufficient yields regardless of horticultural practices. Very few farmers qualify for the

245 439 Japan and provided the stimulus for the great increase in production. During 1967 and 1968 bananas surpassed copra as the number one export and many Tongan farmers planted large portions of their bush allotments with bananas in order to share in the considerable profits that were being made.

245 137 Unfortunately, in 1967 black-leaf-streak fungal disease (Mycosphaerella fijiensis) and bunchy-top virus led to a drastic reduction of banana production in Vava'u and Ha'apai, especially during the warmer months (Government of [242] Tonga, 1968a:4-5). By 1968, despite regular spraying programs conducted by the Department of Agriculture, bunchy top and black-leaf-streak broke out during the summer and [136] early fall on Tongatapu. Also a factor in the incipient decline in 1968 was a root nematode (Radopholus similis). [439] (Government of Tonga, 1969a:6). The black-leaf-streak was worse in 1969 and banana exports from Tongatapu dropped by 245 approximately 60 percent. Production again decreased in 1970 and 1971 and many farmers have become disenchanted and given up banana cultivation.

245 654 In an attempt to combat declining banana production, the Tonga Produce Board, in co-operation with the Department [457] of Agriculture and subsidized by Fruit Distributors Ltd.of [439] New Zealand (the firm which buys all of Tonga's present banana exports), approved a Banana Rehabilitation Scheme in 1971. This required growers to plant one acre or more of at

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 167]

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

[1926 - 1975]

unemployment and an increase in crime have followed. In the two years, from 1966 to 1968, there was an increase of 46% in juvenile crime. It was estimated in 1968 that there would be 11,000 youths leaving school in the following ten years, with only 1,400 jobs available for them in Government, commerce and industry — and no gardening land for a large proportion of them.

In 1975 it is estimated that about one-half of the taxpayers have no land in spite of their legal entitlement. Because of the social and economic consequences of this disturbing situation the Methodist General Conference in Sydney in May 1975 expressed its sympathetic concern to the people of Tonga.

Migration to New Zealand, California, Hawaii, and elsewhere, has grown considerably but has done little to mitigate the population problem. Many of the large number of Tongans educated overseas return to find a social and cultural gap as well as difficulty in gaining suitable employment. Tourism has given limited relief, in the sale of artifacts as well as fruit and vegetables. Against this are ill-effects arising from contact with the undesirable types of tourists.

Faced with economic conditions which affect the people's moral and religious well-being, the Church has had to re-assess its own situation and its impact on the community. It has failed to increase in proportion to the growth of population. In 1926 the Free Wesleyan Church was 59%, in 1956 49.75%, in 1966 49.85%. The Mormons who were 2.3% in 1931 were 7.15% in 1966. In 1966 the Roman Catholics were 15.9%, the Free Church 14.3%, Church of Tonga 8.9%, Seventh Day Adventists 1.08%. New sects, including Pentecostalists, Jehovah's Witnesses and Baha'i, have entered the country.

The Free Wesleyan Church finds some satisfaction in the quality of its ministry and in the development of its organization. In 1970 it had 13 ministers with L.Th. diplomas, three with Diplomas in Religious Education (Melbourne College of Divinity), one Bachelor of Arts, two Bachelors of Divinity, one Doctor of Divinity. The Pacific Theological College in Suva, for advanced theological education, is supported by the Free Wesleyan Church and other Churches in many Pacific Islands groups. Greater attention has been given to improved organization and literature for Sunday Schools and youth groups. The Friendly Islands Bookshop was established in 1973 through the initiative of the Connexional Secretary, John M. Connan, B.Sc., B.D., to provide more material in English and Tongan for a people increasingly capable of benefiting from good literature.

At the local level religion still plays a major part in the Tongans' family and community life. The teachings and methods of the early missionaries have been continued, with the opportunities these have provided for singing, extemporaneous prayer and testimony in the services and "class meetings" that suit the Tongans' temperament. New forms, especially for young people, such as the Christian Endeavour Society, have been added. The three Churches which have sprung from the Wesleyan stock have generally followed the same pattern. What is distressing is the spectacle of division in even small villages. Two, and sometimes three, congregations worship simultaneously and not far apart from each other, using similar hymns and forms of worship, proclaiming the same doctrines, observing the same procedures — early Sunday morning prayer-meeting, two Sunday services, Sunday School, mid-week service, mid-week prayer meetings, "class meetings" for members, and the ever-popular choir practices. In many villages in recent years the rivalry has been worsened by the presence of other denominations also, with a total of five, six or more in some villages.

90: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1977
OU9 Tonga OU9

INTEGRATING TOURISM WITH OTHER INDUSTRIES IN TONGA

CHARLES F. URBANOWICZ

Tonga, with an area of 289 square miles, is approximately 550 miles southwest of the islands of Samoa and approximately 450 miles southeast of the islands of Fiji, in the "heart" of Polynesia. The principal island of the group is Tongatapu (100 square miles). The estimated population of the Kingdom is slightly over 100,000 (1975). Most Tongans speak English as a second language. The country is an independent Kingdom of the British Commonwealth of Nations.[1]

TOURISM AND THE TONGAN ECONOMY

Tongans are primarily exporters of agricultural commodities. Tourist development is still in the relatively early stages. Given certain conditions, tourism could be considered a major industry of the future for Tongans. The Kingdom has taken the position that the potential of the tourist industry is much greater than any other aspect of the economy.[2] This "potential" may well be debated, for without adequate design-for-tourism, the impact of tourism could be disastrous.

Tourists arrive in Tonga either by private yacht, by cruise ships which make one or two-day stops,

[p. 88-A]

A, B, [For footnotes, see p. 93-A--Analyst]

90: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1977
OU9 Tonga OU9

179 or by air from either Fiji or Samoa. Although accurate
● 457 estimates are difficult to make, the Director of the Tongan Visitors Bureau (TVB) wrote that for 1973-1974 foreign-exchange receipts generated through tourism amounted to approximately (U.S.) $2,154,000, making tourism the second largest generator of foreign exchange after copra (U.S., $3,052,000). For 1974-1975, it was estimated that tourist-related revenues in Tonga rose to (U.S.) $3,270,000, and by 1980 it has been projected that tourist revenue could amount to as much as (U.S.) $15,300,000![3] A

The role of tourist-related revenues in the Tongan economy is increasing. A consequence of this
439 growth is that although Tongans export agricultural products, imported foodstuffs account for an increasing portion of Tongan imports. In 1973, for example, Tongans exported a total of almost $5,000,000 worth of materials. In that same year a total of $12,000,000 worth of materials was imported, of which foodstuffs constituted $4,400,000 or 27 percent. In February of 1975, Tongans imported some $1,400,000 worth of items, and foodstuffs amounted to some $713,000 or 51 percent.[4] B

[p. 88-B]

A, B, [For footnotes, see p. 93-A--Analyst]

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Figure 1

TOURISTS TO TONGA BY SHIP AND PLANE: 1958 to 1975

(Landings at Tongatapu)[5] [A/A]

Year	Passengers	Number of Ships	In-Passengers*	Flights
1958	1,715	3	64	N.A.
1961	2,866	4	308	35
1964	5,626	10	992	117
1967	14,240	14	2,883	231
1970	21,025	24	4,001	324
1973	31,502	48	6,356	403
1975	44,968	N.A.	6,770	N.A.

Sources: Kingdom of Tonga Premier's Report. 1958+; Kingdom of Tonga Development Plan 1970 1975 (1970: Appendix A 4); Wallis 1971:25-26, Appendix IV.

N.A. = Not Available

*Approximations of non-Tongan passengers

[P89-4]

A/A. [For footnote, see p. 93-A--Analyst]

With increased tourist growth, Tongans are in direct competition with the tourists for space and for imported foodstuffs. Unless a tourist lives with a Tongan family, and very few do, the main tourist diet consists of fruits and breads from Tonga and imported foodstuffs. This importation of foodstuffs—much of it because of its relation to tourism—is also reflected in the Tongan economy by the Consumer Price Index (CPI). The CPI, heavily biased towards food items, was established in 1969 with a base of 100.0. In six years, the CPI has reached the astronomical figure of 172.4 (Figure 2).

Ever-increasing amounts of food must be imported to feed the growing number of tourists who compete with Tongans for certain goods. Despite this, tourist growth is encouraged. The impact on the "average" Tongan is startling, especially when he sees the price of food double in a single year at the local market. The impact on children is considerable. The Tongan Ministry of Health has pointed out that "protein-calorie malnutrition" is prevalent among many young Tongan children to a disturbing degree.[6A]

Although the inflationary spiral in Tonga in the last few years, as evidenced by increased consumer prices, is obviously related to the generalized worldwide

[p. 89-B]

A. [For footnote, see p. 93-A--Analyst]

457 pattern I believe that some of the problems are due to
458 increased tourist growth. Tongans must first stabilize
435 their basic economy before designs should be made for increased tourist growth.

A CLOSER LOOK AT TOURISM

121 Borrowing some ideas from the late distinguished scholar, Jacob Bronowski, and the Australian academician, Derek Freeman, I should like to suggest that we need to look at the Pacific (and the people of Tonga) in terms of an "evolutionary model" of development. As Freeman has aptly stated it, "In recent years, evolutionary theory has emerged saliently as the unifying paradigm of all the biological sciences, from biochemistry to ecology."[7A] Evolution may be seen in the [182] twentieth century terms of neutrality: the adaptation of an organism to an environment. Successful adaptation comes by means of cooperation and not by competition.[8B]

Bronowski looks at the "evolution of complexity" and develops the model of "stratified stability"[9C] which states that evolution proceeds from

[p. 89-C]

A, B, C, [For footnotes, see p. 93-A--Analyst]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 91-A]

121 a simple, stable base advancing through strata which becomes progressively more complex.

457 179 For Tonga, and indeed for other Pacific Islands, tourism should develop in conjunction with—and perhaps only after—several basic components of the economy have been stabilized. After this, an organized tourist-oriented infrastructure must be developed including trained individuals and increased and improved transport. Tongans have gradually developed both facets of the economy, although more may be necessary.[10]A

Too many tourists in Tonga could "drain" the carrying capacity of the land (as well as the patience of the Tongans). Basic food-producing industries of the Kingdom must be further improved. For example, in [439] [228] 1974 Tongans imported 560 tons of frozen fish, while the Tongan Government fishing vessel caught only 66 tons, roughly a ration of eight to one. In an attempt to 457 179 228 648 solve this, the Tongan government is encouraging loans to improve the fishing industry. In addition, a three-year program funded by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) is aimed at developing the local fishing industry. The UNDP will provide Tongans with some $230,000 as well as technical and managerial assistants to work with the fishermen.

457 648 The UNDP (along with the International Labor Organization) has also provided Tonga with basic aid toward improving the tourist infrastructure: a three-month course in tourism began late in 1974 and ended in January of 1975. Over one hundred Tongans took part in the tralning session. Another upgrading course started in February, 1976.

167 464 [459] [177] Development of tourism design must go hand in hand with other aspects of Tongan life: more must be done to encourage the emigrating Tongans to stay in the Kingdom. Population pressure, high unemployment, the increasing influence of Western values, and the availability of relatively well-paid work in New Zealand compel many young Tongans to leave Tonga. 167 464 179 This movement of Tongans overseas markedly affects the Tongan economy, as recent trends make clear: private and government building in Tonga has fallen behind as a result of lack of skilled workers, and equipment is lying unused. One government building project lost two-thirds of its staff. What is true for the construction trade 167 464 179 241 is also true for the private farmer:

> If the drain of laborers to New Zealand goes unchecked, a crisis could develop in Tonga's agriculture. This warning is sounded by the Director of Agriculture, Mr. Tomasi Simiki, who said this week the migration of workers to New Zealand—even temporarily—was already being felt in farming. Farmers are producing less because they

[p. 91-A]

A. [For footnote, see p. 93-A--Analyst]

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[435]

> simply cannot find the same number of workers. "Price-hiking is becoming unavoidable as food items become scarce," Mr. Simiki said.[11] A

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[645]

In 1972 the Tongan Assistant Secretary in the Ministry of Finance pointed out that "every year only about 5 percent of the school-leavers find wage employment in the industrial and tertiary sectors" of the Tongan economy.[12] B

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As a result of this untenable situation, the New Zealand overseas work scheme was begun in 1971. This system contributed significantly to Tonga's favorable balance of payments in 1972-1973. In 1971-1972, net remittances by Tongans working overseas totaled some $1,250,000; and for 1972-1973, this had increased to approximately $2,000,000. This money, along with donations, gifts, and contributions from overseas ($2,150,000), helped to offset the Tongan trade deficit.[13] C (In 1972-1973 gross tourism earnings provided Tongans with some $1,530,000. Compared with the previous year, tourism revenues increased by some 24 percent.)

[439]

Though the work scheme improves the balance of payments in Tonga, most of the money earned by Tongans in New Zealand is eventually returned to New Zealand to pay for increased imports. Also, the

[593]
[586]

overseas work scheme appears to be contributing to family tensions and an increased divorce rate in Tonga.[14] D

[648]

Crocombe has criticized the overseas work scheme as a form of "poorer independent islands subsidizing their rich big neighbors," even though the Tongan government requested the New Zealand government to initiate such a work program.[15] E While there may be some short-term benefits to Tongans, long-range analysis of this work scheme may prove Crocombe correct.

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The Tongan government and private entrepreneurs must encourage the diversification of the Tongan economy beyond short-term overseas work schemes. Tongans, for their part, must realize that tourism is not the ultimate solution to economic stability. A 1969 United Nations consultant's report stated:

> There is no immediate prospect of absorbing in gainful employment more than a very small proportion of those who cannot find work on the land. The visitor industry (tourism) is unlikely to be a really significant employer of labor . . . .[16] F

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Besides being small-scale, tourism is unreliable as a steady source of income for Tongans. In 1972, for example, at least forty tour groups cancelled their visits to Tonga because of the uncertainty of air travel to and from the Kingdom. Late in 1973 and early in 1974, five cruise ships cancelled their stops at Tonga

[p. 91-B]

A,B,C,D,E,F [For footnotes, see pp. 93-A & 93-B--Analyst]

459 434 because of the international oil crisis. These cancellations resulted in a large loss of expected revenues.

179 744 457 [164] Not only must the industrial sector of the economy be expanded and diversified beyond tourist development, but public health problems in Tonga and other islands must be dealt with. For example, in the past Fiji and Tonga have experienced outbreaks of mosquito-carried Dengue fever. The fever not only incapacitates and demoralizes the native population, it frightens away tourists as well.

179 Tongans must develop a balanced design of tourist development, overseas work schemes, combined with the development and improvement of local living conditions, before the economy can be stabilized. The government is currently working on its Third Development Plan for 1975-1980, and new industries, such as local fish-canning and meat-processing plants, have been suggested.[17A] 179 648 Planned overseas aid from New Zealand in the amount of $NZ5,000,000 over the next three years will be used to encourage and develop rural programs throughout the Kingdom.[18A] Such overseas support of the non-tourist sectors of the economy, combined with assistance from the United Nations Development Program for the tourist sector, could provide Tongans with balanced development.

The future of Tongans lies in greater cooperation with one another. In February of 1975, Tonga [439] joined the European Economic Community as an associate member to obtain eventual stabilization of prices [435] of Tongan items exported to Europe and possible financial aid from Europe. In 1974, Tonga and Fiji joined in a tourist promotion scheme, and more such Fijian-Tongan cooperative efforts are being planned. Late in 1976 the Pacific Islands Tourism Development Council Conference was held in Tonga. The theme of the conference revolved around cooperation in tourism efforts, and representatives were in attendance from American Samoa, Australia, the Cook Islands, Guam, Hawaii, Japan, Nauru, New Caledonia, New Zealand, North America, Papua New Guinea, Tahiti, the Trust Territory of the Pacific, and Western Samoa! Clearly, then, ideas about cooperative efforts are increasing. In August of 1976 Tonga was also represented at the Young Nations Conference held in Australia. The theme of that meeting stressed research and development in planning for the people of the South Pacific. For an integrated design for the future, all peoples should utilize as many resources as possible.[19C]

315 648 Oil may prove another source of foreign exchange for Tonga. In November of 1968, a visiting Australian geologist confirmed natural oil seepage on Tongatapu Island, and exploratory drilling was conducted by a European-based consortium in 1970 and

[p. 92-A]

A,B,C [For footnotes, see p. 93-B--Analyst]

315 648 1971. Nothing came of the search, and the consortium members finally abandoned their efforts in December of 1971. Early in 1975, Japan's largest oil-mining company expressed interest in further oil exploration, and in March of 1975 New Zealand's chief petroleum geologist visited Tonga and said, "Dig deeper!" The first two test holes were only 5500 feet deep, and the New Zealand geologist said at least 10,000 feet was necessary.[20] [643] In connection with future oil exploration plans, His Majesty King Taufa'ahua Tupou IV flew to Saudi Arabia in June of 1974. At hat time he also visited the Arabian Gulf oil state of Bahrain, and in March of 1975 His Majesty revisited Bahrain. In 1975, an American-based oil company became actively engaged in Tonga, and work continues.

CONCLUSIONS

178 457 What is the social and economic impact of tourism on Tonga? The benefits continue to outweigh, by a narrow margin, the negative aspects of tourism. Tourism in Tonga must not, however, be singled out and examined apart from other aspects of Tongan life, for it is closely bound to them. Too much tourism might well destroy what the tourists go to experience: the peace, graciousness, and beauty of a Polynesian island. Signs of deterioration of everyday life in Tonga which can be laid directly or indirectly to increased tourism are already evident. Some Tongan children now beg [735] from the tourists at the major tourist attractions. Prostitution [548] and homosexuality are increasing.[21] Drunkenness [838] is the major source of the increasing crime in the Kingdom [674]. Tongans have been evicted from their own International Dateline [293] Hotel for drunkenness in order to "protect the image of the Kingdom in the eyes of the tourist.[22] Housebreaking, theft, and unlawful entry are increasing. In 1973, there were 427 convictions for theft in the Kingdom, an increase of 23 percent over 1972.[23] In 1972, the Tongan Criminal Investigation Division preferred fifteen housebreaking and theft charges against two Tongan males who had apparently entered homes and had "stolen good(s) from New Zealand, American, [and] Australian volunteers in [the] Nuku'alofa area."[24] It is not at all unusual for windows on Tongan homes to be heavily barred, and for numerous dogs to be kept in the yards for warning and protection against thieves. Crimes of violence are also increasing, and non-Tongans are frequently attacked by Tongans. Referring to Tonga's growing crime problem, the Tongan Minister of Police said, "In view of population pressures and economic side effects, it is reasonable to predict [625] a future of potential increase of crime."[25] The Tongan

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[p. 92-B]

A,B,C,D,E,F, [For footnotes, see p. 93-B--Analyst]

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police force has grown steadily over the recent years. A substantial increase in tourism would almost certainly further disrupt Tongan society.

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF PAGE 93-B]

NOTES

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1 For changes that have occurred in Tonga, see Urbanowicz 1973 and 1975a.

2. Kingdom of Tonga 1970:35.

3. Alasdair Buchanan, 1973 and 1975.

4. The Tonga Chronicle ([TTC] April 3, 1975.

5. The date of 1958 is utilized as a "baseline," since a United Nations report analyzed the years 1958 to 1970 and pointed out that " . . . of all the items entering into world trade . . . world receipts from international tourism have experienced the fastest growth," approximately 10 percent annually (United Nations 1973: pages 1 and 3). For several years, Tongan growth has exceeded this figure.

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6. TTC, August 22, 1974.

7. Derek Freeman 1970:51.

8. See Rene Dubos 1968 [1969]:11 and George Gaylord Simpson [1971]:201.

9. Jacob Bronowski 1973:344.

10. For critical comments, see the extreme view presented by Jacques Decornoy in *The Guardian* of November 2, 1974 (translated from *Le Monde);* for specifics about the economic impact of tourism on Tonga, see Urbanowicz 1977.

11. TTC, November 21, 1974.

12. TTC, November 2, 1972.

90: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1977
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A truly balanced design for the future must combine the tourist interests with the other interests, both economic and cultural, in Tongan life. 179

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13. TTC, August 8, 1974.

14. De Bres 1974:8.

15. Ron Crocombe 1972:6; and see Crocombe 1973.

16. United Nations 1969: paragraph 13.

17. TTC, April 10, 1975.

18. TTC, February 20, 1975.

19. For future research dealing specifically with Tonga, the reader is encouraged to look to an M.A. in Anthropology from California State University, Chico, by Mr. R.B. Johnson Jr. Mr. Johnson gathered information on tourism and culture change in Tonga over the period February 1976-July 1976, and I am indebted to him for some recent discussions. 179 648 457 178 127

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20. TTC, March 27, 1975.

21. P.D. Wallis 1971:21.

22. Tongans still enjoy their traditional *kava* drink, but as stated elsewhere (1975b:46-47), when Tongans begin to consume more alcohol than *kava*, "Tonga will indeed have some problems, for this will be an indication that the basic fabric of their culture and society has shifted." 178 457 273 694 276

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23. TTC, August 22, 1974.

24. TTC, October 12, 1972.

25. Anonymous 1970:20.

[p. 93-B]

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Tourism in Tonga: Troubled Times

CHARLES F. URBANOWICZ

The Kingdom of Tonga lies in the heart of fabled Polynesia, approximately 550 miles southwest of Samoa and 450 miles southeast of Fiji. The tiny kingdom encompasses approximately 289 square miles and supports an estimated (1973) population of 100,105—an average density of more than 348 persons per square mile. However, the actual usable land available for settlement is only 190 square miles, giving a true population density of 532 persons per square mile. The population is not evenly distributed and the largest island of the group, Tongatapu (100 square miles with a population of 52,000) is the economic center for the archipelago. This island has also been the historic residence of the aboriginal (Royal) leaders, and Nuku'alofa—the largest city, the capital, and the main tourist target—is located there.

Formerly a British protectorate, Tonga achieved independence in 1970 and entered the British Commonwealth of Nations. The Constitutional Monarchy dates to 1875 and the current monarch, His Majesty King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV, acceded to the throne in 1965. Tongan is the official language, English is the second language and most Tongans are bilingual. The population is also ethnically uniform: 98 percent of the population are Tongans, and all are stalwart Christians. The 1966 census listed 77,429 inhabitants, only 61 of whom failed to declare a religious affiliation.

Tourism is nascent in Tonga, but the number of visitors is increasing annually due to extensive overseas promotions that stress, in colorful brochures, the beauty of "unspoiled" Polynesia, where English is spoken and where there is a "real live King (and Queen)." Although Tonga is the last surviving Polynesian Kingdom, it is far from being the "storybook" land of the culture brokers. It is an overpopulated and underdeveloped tiny nation, struggling to maintain its cultural integrity in the face of twentieth-century changes. There are serious internal economic problems in Tonga, for which tourism might be the panacea. This case study

91: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1977
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examines the impact of tourism on the Tongan economy and the social and cultural problems associated with the advent of recent mass tourism.

The Economic Problem

Tonga is primarily an agricultural nation of small landholders. Despite Government efforts to modernize and increase food production, the natural resources of the islands are inadequate to feed the growing population. For greater cash-flow, primarily to meet Tongan consumer demands for Western products, Tonga has become an exporter of agricultural commodities. It is germane to note, however, that foodstuffs (especially meat and chicken) account for almost a third of Tonga's annual imports. In 1973, for example, total exports amounted to almost us$5,000,000, with copra being the most important export (at us$3,347,000). Dietary inadequacies among Tongans, occasioned by high food costs, are best assessed by the Minister of Health who stated in 1973 that protein-calorie malnutrition is prevalent among young Tongan children to a disturbing degree. In the same year seventeen cases of severe "nutritional deficiency" required hospitalization, two of which became fatalities.

Spiraling inflation has eroded Tongan buying power over recent years, as indicated by the Consumer Price Index (CPI). Established in 1969 with a September base of 100.0, the CPI is based on the purchasing power of a "typical" Tongan family earning less than us$37 per week. Heavily biased towards food items (64 percent of all items on the index), the CPI has risen steadily (Figure 1) to 172.4 in six years. Increases in food prices, both domestic and imported, have consistently contributed most to this upward trend. In one of the largest overall increases, 11.4 percent in the quarter of June-September 1973, the fruit and vegetable component of the CPI increased by 46.9 percent. In the second largest increase, 11.2 percent from December 1972-March 1973, this same sub-group of basic staples increased by 33.1 percent, while the cereal subgroup (bread, flour, and rice) increased by 31.6 percent.

Unemployment is another critical economic problem. In an island world where land is extremely important, many adult Tongans are without land. Although every Tongan male, upon reaching the age of sixteen (and becoming a taxpayer) is entitled to some "bush land" for crops and "town land" for a home, there simply isn't enough to go around. The Assistant Secretary in the Ministry of Finance pointed out that in 1966, 59 percent of all men over sixteen years of age who were entitled to tax allotments were landless and, no doubt, this proportion has increased by 1971. Even if the unused areas are used it may provide employment for about thirty-four hundred men, still leaving thousands unemployed.

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464 871 The Secretary also noted that every year, only about 5 percent of the Tongans who leave school are able to find employment in the Tongan economy.

464 167 459 To offset this serious lack of domestic employment, thousands of Tongans since 1971 have gone overseas to work, primarily in New Zealand. Their remittances to Tonga have been substantial: in 1971-72 us$1,250,000 and for 1972-73 us$2,000,000. This money, together with donations, gifts, and contributions from other overseas sources (us$2,150,000) have helped to offset the Tongan trade deficit. In addition, individual men, returning to Tonga after the expiration of overseas work permits, often bring back a substantial amount of cash (once estimated to be an average of us$1,800 per man). Although this work program was initiated at the request of the Tongan government, it has been criticized as being a form of economic subservience. The revenues obtained from this [593] unique "export item" (diligent and hardworking Tongans) have, in fact, [586] benefitted the Tongan economy, but they have also created some domestic problems: family life is disrupted for male wage earners who go overseas, and divorce appears to be increasing.

177 Tonga, as with the rest of Oceania, continues to undergo massive acculturation. The economic problems have aggravated social problems because of the inability of individual Tongans to achieve their Western-induced desires. Housebreaking, theft, and unlawful entry are now prevalent crimes in Tonga and are, unfortunately, apparently increasing at a steady rate. Tongan homes now commonly have barred windows, and families may keep numerous dogs in the yard for protection. Crimes of violence have also increased, especially in attacks by Tongans on non-Tongans. The Tongan Minister of Police openly admits that in view of population pressures and economic side effects, continued potential increase of crime may reasonably be predicted.

674 174

179 459 In the face of their economic dilemma, it is not surprising that in their 1970-75 development plan, Tonga has assessed tourism as having the greatest economic potential to the Kingdom, both as an employer of labour and also as a source of foreign exchange.

The Economic Role of Tourism

459 Tourists arrive in Tonga by private yacht, by cruise ships making a one or two-day stop as part of a longer Pacific itinerary, or by air from Samoa or Fiji. Guests to Tonga in 1958 were an elite group, when only three cruise vessels landed passengers at Tongatapu, and some special flights brought a total of sixty-four air passengers from Australia (Figure 2). Subsequently, tourism has grown steadily and rapidly, and more growth is anticipated, including tourism to areas other than Nuku'alofa. In 1973,

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twenty-four cruise ships also called at Vava'u, approximately 180 miles north of Tongatapu, bringing 9,463 tourists to that island. In 1975, 17,500 tourists visited Vava'u as part of their cruise itinerary. 457

Figure 2
Tourists to Tonga by Ship and Plane: 1958 to 1975
(Landings at Tongatapu)

Year	*Passengers*	*Number of Ships*	*In-Passengers*	*Flights*
1958	1,715	3	64	n.a.
1959	2,600	5	45	8
1960	n.a.	7	189	23
1961	2,866	4	308	35
1962	3,677	6	524	66
1963	4,353	6	668	75
1964	5,628	10	992	117
1965	6,395	8	1,174	144
1966	14,581	20	1,460	146
1967	14,240	14	2,883	231
1968	11,111	12	3,465	182
1969	18,111	19	4,326	230
1970	21,025	24	4,001	324
1971	23,500	32	4,000	314
1972	27,259	29	4,599	358
1973	31,502	48	6,356	403
1974	36,308	43	6,403	397
1975	44,968	n.a.	6,770	n.a.

Sources: Kingdom of Tonga Premier's Report. 1958 +; Kingdom of Tonga (1970) DEVELOPMENT PLAN 1970-1975; P. D. Wallis 1971; A. Buchanan 1975. [n.a. = Not Available.] [113]

The Director of the Tongan Visitors Bureau (TVB) wrote in 1973 that foreign exchange receipts generated through tourism amounted to approximately us$2,154,000, making tourism the second largest generator of foreign exchange after copra (us$3,052,000). In 1974 it was estimated that tourist revenue increased to approximately us$3,270,000, and that projected tourist-generated revenue could possibly amount to as much as us$15,300,000 by 1980. Tourism is definitely increasing in Tonga. 457 434

The Government of Tonga is interested in developing tourism for the apparent economic benefits. The TVB was created in 1971 to work towards that goal, and it is the TVB's function to disseminate information to promote tourism. A survey of tourist "likes" and "dissatisfactions" taken by the TVB indicated that many visitors felt that most Tongans did 457 654

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457 654 not know enough of their own culture and history (or at least the aspects of touristic interest), so the TVB published a pamphlet for local distribution to remedy this particular complaint. The government has also built small airstrips to encourage tourist travel to outlying islands and has allocated substantial sums of money for hotel expansion and construction.

457 648 654 177 [643] [484] With the help of overseas (primarily Australian) backing, new hotels have been recently constructed on Tongatapu and Vava'u. Japanese companies have also expressed an interest in joint investment with the Tongan government. in facilities that would serve the public and *especially* entice the now almost nonexistent Japanese traveler to Tonga. With Japan in mind, the Tongan monarch traveled to Japan, exchange clubs have been established. Tongans have been encouraged to visit Japan. Late in 1976 the Japan/Tonga Friendship Fellowship opened a us$35,000 resort clubhouse in Tonga, in an effort to develop growing contacts and increase guests to Tonga. His Majesty also visited Hawaii in late 1976 to assess the role of tourism, as well as the role of Tongans in tourism at the Polynesian Cultural Center (see chapter 14).

457 439 262 [435] [171] Tourism, however, increases the economic problems—especially the need for additional imported foodstuffs. Air passengers, for whom facilities are largely being constructed, have to be fed, and although many enjoy the local fruits and bread (made from the imported flour), few would be content for long on the relatively bland Tongan diet of yams, taro, and fruit. Tongans are, in effect, competing with the tourists for the imported foods. The ever-increasing quantities of food that must be imported to feed the growing number of tourists contributes to the steadily rising CPI. A similar situation prevails in Fiji, as Ward (1976, p. 171) notes:

> Some [Fiji] hotels, in the interest of greater economy and convenience, only provide a strictly limited choice of meals and the sort of meals which tourists expect to receive in their home countries, e.g. of the steak-hamburger-mixed grill variety. Many hotels argue that this is all the tourist wants although the best hotels do provide more extensive menus. The majority [of hotels, however] do provide the food which is produced and consumed by the local inhabitants and this compounds the problem of buying requirements from domestic producers.

Ward also states that despite the availability of many local foodstuffs tourists might consume, hotels in Fiji prefer to purchase their requirements overseas because, it has been argued, "they can only then be assured of continuity in supplies and of a consistent high standard of quality."

457 Tourism has grown rapidly in Tonga, but it could evaporate just as quickly. Tongans occasionally have experienced situations when the anticipated tourists failed to arrive. In 1972, at least forty tour groups cancelled their planned air visits to Tongatapu because the tour operators

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could not be assured of making airline connections from the Kingdom to other points on the itinerary.

Because of mounting fuel and labor costs, long-haul cruises such as those that stop at Tonga are not as profitable as the short-haul, fast turnaround cruises that operate weekly or biweekly in the Caribbean (Waters and Patterson 1976). As a result, in the foreseeable future cruises stopping at Tonga might decrease as much as 50 percent in a single year, with a projected annual loss of revenue of us$600,000. This would seriously affect the handicraft manufacturers and other businessmen in the Kingdom. Losses of anticipated revenue generated through tourism should serve to reinforce the potential disaster for Tongans if their economy is tied too closely to tourism.

It must also be noted that while short-term cruise passengers consume little of the imported foodstuffs, the airline guests (whose stay ranges from five to eleven days) must be fed for the duration of their visit. The host/guest competition for food and natural resources will further contribute to the upward inflationary curve.

What Price Tourism?

Tongans are increasingly becoming the victims of their own tourism. They are exceedingly happy when cruise ships dock with a thousand passengers (and several hundred crew members), and pump thousands of dollars into the economy in an eight-hour period, but Tongans are even happier at dusk when the ships depart. The physical impact of a thousand tourists on one town situated on a relatively tiny island is tremendous, especially when most of the tourists are bussed around to "see" all the sights of the island. The tourist literature has brought the visitors here "to observe the traditional Tongan way of life in the *natives' own habitat*" and the shore excursions promise that you will "see the daily work routine of men and women—gardening, weaving baskets, cooking, washing and their many other activities. This village walking tour offers you an excellent opportunity to photograph the Tongan people as they really are" (Itinerary for the International Institute, 24 June 1974). Tongans cannot tolerate being regarded as members of a "cultural zoo" and are not "on display" for wealthy visitors. Under these circumstances, there are exceedingly few opportunities for a true host/guest relationship to develop.

Tourists have usually heard something about Tonga long before they arrive. Many guests remember the late Queen of Tonga's memorable ride in an open carriage during a rainfall when Her Majesty Queen Salote Tupou III attended the coronation of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II in London in 1953. Tourists, therefore, already "know" something about

91: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1977
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Tonga, and they want to "see" Tonga; but all too often cruise passengers get only a look at a "phony-folk-culture" in action—a Disneyland of the Pacific, so to speak.

The air guests, fewer in number (but staying longer), may have a somewhat different experience. They have the opportunity to enjoy the recreational facilities of a tropical island—swimming, fishing, and snorkeling—and they may also have the opportunity to see more of the island at a gradual pace, to meet some of the truly hospitable Tongans on a person-to-person basis, and to share a truly cross-cultural educational experience. However, the actual experiences of the tourist can be less than this ideal.

Forster (1964, pp. 217-22) pointed out that one of the fascinating aspects of the tourist process in the Pacific is the deliberate creation of a "phony-folk-culture," which the indigenous inhabitants develop to provide "authentic native culture" to the tourists. For example, a popular tourist "attraction" is a display of dances in Tonga: the program may contain almost a dozen Fijian, Tahitian, Hawaiian, or New Zealand dances performed by the Tongan dancers but show only one or two Tongan dances. The fact is granted that a Tahitian *tamure* has a tremendous amount of visual impact, and a Fijian fire dance is dramatic, but Tongan dances have a beauty and symmetry of their own that should be performed for the visitors to Tonga.

It is this alteration of their basic culture that has prompted Tongans to consider legislating the tourist industry. They seek to ensure the active preservation of the traditional Tongan way of life and culture by integrating traditional patterns into mass tourism and not making traditional culture a contemporary "phony-folk-culture."

Other tangible and observable social problems have developed in the Kingdom as a result of the tourist influx: some Tongan children now beg from tourists at the major tourist attractions; prostitution and homosexuality appear to be increasing (not necessarily for the tourists but for the crew members of the cruise ships); tourists are harassed as they walk through city streets and villages; and price-gouging, especially for transportation, is a common complaint.

The substantial amount of quickly-generated cash derived from cruise ship passengers (for an "authentic" Polynesian feast, shore excursions around the island, and the purchase of handicrafts), when placed into circulation in the port towns, can be the occasion for a party. Drinking may commence even before the ship has weighed anchor and drunkenness appears to be a major source of crime. Tongans still enjoy their traditional *kava* drink, but as I have stated elsewhere, when individuals begin to consume more alcohol than *kava*, in violation of their Christian ethic, it is an indication that the basic fabric of their culture and society has shifted. In recent years Tongans have been evicted from their own

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hotels for drunkenness (and for being badly dressed) in order to "protect the image of the Kingdom in the eyes of the tourist." Housebreaking, theft, and unlawful entry are prevalent crimes, and in 1973, for example, there were 427 convictions for theft.

Conclusions

Deep-seated economic problems induced by a growing population have almost engulfed the tiny islands of Tonga. The glitter of tourist money seemingly promises a substantial portion of much-needed economic help, but would it bring more "troubled times"? The current substantial cruise business might be considered relatively benign in that visitors are short-term, and they arrive and depart at a preappointed hour. Comparatively little capital or space is required to cater to their needs, aside from docking areas and taxis or busses. Further, the money cruise passengers spend is largely for local services (transportation, amusement, and for handicrafts as souvenirs) and directly benefits individuals. The threatened demise of the cruise industry, to be replaced with an increasing number of air travelers, may be potentially more disruptive to the economy and to the culture. To accommodate air visitors, hotels and resort facilities must be financed and built, and they occupy land—already in short supply, giving to it by virtue of location a changed economic value. No longer "bush" or "town," now it is "recreational" land. Given the small size of Nuku'alofa as well as Tongatapu, one must imagine the impact if one thousand guests were continually present, day *and* night, demanding that their needs be catered—including on Sunday when Tongans traditionally do not work. And although air travel is currently nascent, with a limited number of annual visitors, the advent of mass travel could "Waikiki" the beaches, and inundate local culture as has already happened in Hawaii.

The Prime Minister of Tonga (His Majesty's brother) has repeatedly stressed that Tongan culture can withstand the impact of modern tourism development. I, too, am certain that Tongans will survive; however, will they still be Tongans? Or will they become yet another example of a people who have been forced to abandon their traditions (or at least remove them "back stage" away from prying eyes) to prevent their becoming the "quaint customs" of ethnic tourism?

The anthropological analysis of economic process [here, tourism] differs from the statistical methods employed by economic planners in that the former assesses the impact upon culture and the social milieu rather than being restricted to balance-of-trade or the CPI. There is an ethnohistoric component to culture change—from then to now—just as there is a cross-cultural component—from there to here—that must be studied. Tongans must become aware of the changes that have occurred

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459 as a result of non-Tongan influences; they must also study the effects of
179 tourism elsewhere in the Pacific islands. From these two sources, they
178 should design for the future. The 1970-75 development plan stated that
179 tourism if properly controlled could make a positive contribution to the economy. Possibly the wording of a new development plan should read that tourism *must be* properly controlled if it is to make a positive contribution to the economy, the Tongan hosts, and the non-Tongan guests.

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113

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[Forster, J. 1964. The sociological consequences of tourism. International Journal of Comparative Sociology 5 (12): 217-27.]

423 expressed by landowners, as well. However, only 0.3 percent of the
829 sample expressed the opinion that the tenure system should be reorganized. Though this appears to be contradictory, most informants, when pressed on the issue, implied that the land tenure system was based on tradition, and would not change.

511 Considering these features of the system, the following conclusions may be formulated. Although landlessness exists on a large scale throughout Tonga, few landless households suffer critical hardships resulting from land shortage. Most landless individuals consider their income sufficient for household needs. An occasional landless family enjoying remittances from abroad or who derive income from fishing or labor may even achieve an income level above that of the average allotment holder.

121 Land tenure must also be considered in terms of its role in the nation's agricultural economy. Although an in-depth analysis of Tongan agriculture is contained within the following chapter, its relation to land tenure can be considered within the framework of the [457] present section. The major issue which arises is that concerning the basis for the development of cash cropping, which is vital to Tonga's balance of payments.

241 Cash cropping has been largely confined to the production of
245 bananas and cocnut products. This does not mean that other cash crops
245 are being rejected, owning to land tenure. At the present, several attempts are being made to develop the cultivation of vanilla and
[439] citrus as cash crops. Nonetheless, the great majority of export

166 241 161 in varying degrees throughout the Kingdom, though it is greatest in Ha'apai and portions of western Tongatapu. As population pressure increases and maintaining a living through agriculture means becomes more difficult, migration from these regions can be anticipated. 241 Related to this issue are the decreasing agricultural yields resulting from lower fertility levels, shorter fallowing periods and the [166] expansion of cash cropping. When cash cropping profits become substantial enough to support a given household, independent of large scale home food production, the motivation for migrating to an urban area is high. Such migration results in absentee landholding and the utilization of friends or relatives to harvest the cash crop. Thus, agricultural acreage is removed from domestic food production, and 369 51 allocated to cash crop production. The cash earnings are used to maintain the household in the urban environment. Consequently, the family experiences an increased dependency upon a greater proportion of foreign imports in order to satisfy its food and material 369 needs. The effects of this are currently being felt in Nuku'alofa, 433 a direct result of too many urban consumers being served by too few rural producers. The Kingdom is operating under an increasing trade [457] deficit in order to supplement native food production with imports (Table 20). A Eventually, this will necessitate major adjustments in the national economic profile.

369 554 [166] Migrating to an urban area such as Nuku'alofa often increases the social position of the household. Urban living is perceived as being synonymous with an improved standard of living, while agricultural employment is considered to be a lower prestige occupation.

A [See Category 457, p. 124--Analyst.]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 125]

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

457 TABLE 20.--Tongan Balance of Trade: 1950-1972 (T$,000).

Year	Imports	Exports	Trade Surplus (+) Deficit (-)	% of Imports Represented by Foodstuffs
1950	1,778	2,776	+ .998	8.30
1952	2,322	2,802	+ .480	7.60
1954	2,220	2,786	+ .566	9.38
1956	3,028	3,248	+ .220	12.38
1958	3,236	2,420	- .816	14.71
1960	3,300	3,393	+ .093	16.58
1962	2,460	1,667	- .793	17.68
1964	3,854	2,328	-1.526	16.11
1966	4,141	3,617	- .524	23.97
1968	5,150	3,846	-1.304	22.87
1970	5,539	2,676	-2.863	23.50
1971	6,305	2,200	-4.104	28.30
1972	7,456	2,050	-5.406	30.11

SOURCES: 1954-1961--An Economic Survey of Tonga: 1970 (Nuku'alofa: Government Printer, 1970); Kingdom of Tonga: Statistical Abstract 1972 (Nuku'alofa: Government Printer, 1972); Great Britain Colonial Office, Report: Tonga (1954-1963)(London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1956-64).

1970, 1973--Report for the Ministry of Finance (various dates) (Nuku'alofa: Government Printer); "Statement of Trade and Navigation: 1973" (Nuku'alofa: Government Printer, 1974).

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313 sector is directed to the construction of banana cases and local
313 housing construction. It should be noted, however, that since
654 1954, the Tongan Department of Agriculture has begun a small scale reforestation program designed to determine the feasibility of developing this as an exportable economic resource (Great Britain Colonial Office 1956-64, p. 22).

241 Other species of vegetation which are culturally important to Tongans are those which produce the majority of the nation's food. These include the breadfruit, coconut, banana and various root crops.

433 Until recently, Tonga has had the distinction of being one of the few Pacific territories which could be called a self-supporting community (Harris 1966, p. 127). Economically, Tonga is essentially an agricultural country. There are no notable developed mineral resources and the only industry consists of minor processing
439 facilities for agricultural products. Economic necessities from outside the islands are paid for by exports of bananas and coconut
457 products in most cases. Until recently, Tonga enjoyed a favorable balance of trade. However, this balance has tended to reverse in the past few years with the tendency toward larger and larger deficits as shown in Table 20.[A A]

511 The population in the past has been in the position to plant
[438] a large portion of their food requirements. Any cash requirements were usually provided through the sale of bananas and coconuts to regional collection points (Great Britain Colonial Office 1956-64,
511 p. 11). This subsistence system is rapidly altering due to increasing
178 [A A See Category 457, p. 124--Analyst.]

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pressures of population upon the land. The result of this pressure is seen in part in a growing dependency on imported foodstuffs.

Exports have been the only significant source of income for the Kingdom, though earnings from tourism and overseas remittances are becoming increasingly important. Of this trade, copra, bananas, and pineapples represent the only items traded in quantity internationally. Copra currently accounts for more than 70 percent of the total exports and, therefore, the export income of Tonga is largely at the mercy of fluctuations in world copra prices (Kennedy 1968, p. 20; Britten 1968, p. 53).

A diversification of export crops is possible under existing environmental conditions. However, the isolation of Tonga from international trade routes coupled with distance from markets make large scale diversification unlikely in the near future.

Fundamental in the economy of any agricultural nation is the policy formation regulating land use by the native element. In Tonga, ultimate title to all land rests with the King. However, every individual is entitled to an eight and one-qaurter acre farm lot and a two-fifths acre town lot. Obviously, in light of the growing population situation, the plan cannot work as the policy intends. However, in the past the policy had the effect of allowing most people the opportunity to plant and earn a subsistence living from the earth. The law, at present, states that males upon reaching 16 years of age are required to register with the government for tax purposes. At the same time, all are invited to